1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[11] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 The usual forms given to the household ware are those known as pitchers, pans, 415 and pots. Both the pitchers and the pots are made with two ears or handles, and only differ in their relative diameters. Occasionally the jars or pitchers are given the shape of some animal, usually a sheep, dog, or pig, but are very rudely modelled.

Besides the coarse pottery used for domestic purposes, the Araucanos make a finer kind such as is frequently found in their burying places. The shapes most in use for this ware are bowls and small pitchers. It is made from a fine red clay and generally ornamented with designs of other colours, sometimes painted, sometimes formed of clays of other colours let in like mosaic. The principal colours used for these designs are white and black.

323 A glaze is given sometimes by the addition of a little ground quartz or felspar, or more commonly by throwing handfuls of salt into the vessels when they are at a red heat. The ovens are simple holes in the ground kept filled with burning embers and ashes, and the cooling is done gradually.

One particular kind of ware, very highly prized among the tribes, is ornamented in a peculiar manner. The design is traced out while the clay composing the vessel is still plastic. Following this design a clean groove is cut about an eighth of an inch deep. The vessel is then baked. On cooling, a fine white clay mixed with powdered shell is pressed into the grooves, and carefully scraped over afterwards to leave a smooth clean-cut surface. The inside is lined with the same mixture, and again set to bake in a fierce fire, which causes the clay in the design to set. This ware is not glazed but is brought to a bright surface by polishing. The designs [531] most used are chevrons, checquers, triangles, lozenges, herring bones, and a kind of fretwork pattern. All the patterns used are composed of straight and parallel lines.

● 372 *Fire.*—There seem to be no special rites connected with fire or its maintenance, although formerly there may have been. The Indian now obtains his fire in the orthodox civilised way, by using matches, or with flint and steel. Occasionally I have seen it produced by the friction of two sticks, one hard and pointed, the other rotten and extremely dry. The pointed stick is rolled rapidly between the hands and works as in a socket, considerable downward pressure being used. A remnant of old usages may be noted in the custom among the Indians of covering up the embers at night with ashes so that they are still smouldering in the morning.

262 *Food.*—The food of the Araucano is abundant, nutritive and varied. The country itself produces more than sufficient for his needs; although of late years owing to the settling and colonisation of this portion of Chili, the sale of Indian lands, and their confinement to reserved territories have brought about a considerable modification in their mode of living, and they have found it more necessary to recur to agriculture and the rearing of flocks and herds.

[137] First among the natural products are various classes of tubers, especially the wild potato (*poñi* pronounced *ponyi*). Edible roots are extremely abundant, as also several kinds of wild cereals, from the most important of which, millet (*huegeu*) and rye (*magu*), they make a coarse unleavened bread.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

323 Except for some geometric
[331] designs on some of the archeological finds around Valdivia, most earlier *Mapuche-Huilliche* pottery was undecorated, and of comparatively crude workmanship. (For details on techniques and types, cf.: Latcham, 1928 b, pp. 47–56, 195–219; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:247–62; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 43–48.)

324 **Stoneworking.**—The early *Mapuche-Huilliche* made considerable use of chipped-stone artifacts, such as arrowheads, and of polished-stone ones, such as celts and perforated rings, but no detailed accounts of processes of chipping, polishing, or drilling have come down to us.

325 **Mining and metallurgy.**—Some use was made by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* in pre-Hispanic times of gold, silver, and copper for adornments, utensils, and weapons, as evidenced by the not infrequent mention thereof in the very early chroniclers (e.g., Ercilla, 1910, p. xix; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 112, 125; González de Nájera, 1889, pp. 46–47; Bascuñan, 1863, p. 201; Rosales, 1877–78, 1:159).
[316] Some mining for or gathering of gold was done by the *Araucanians* apparently on their own, under pressure from the very early conquistadors. Probably, too, some rough shaping and hammering was done. But there is no record of smelting or other metallurgical processes in any of the early sources (McClafferty, 1932, pp. 36–40).

Even silversmithing, as practiced so skillfully by the 19th-century *Mapuche-Huilliche*, begins to be described in our sources only after the close of the 18th century although it may have been developed a little earlier. Poeppig's *Pehuenche* of the Antuco region (1835–36, p. 386) used pointed stones instead of hammers in their silversmithing. Silversmithing, too, is first reported among the *Araucanian*-influenced *Tehuelche* only in the first third of the 19th century, about a century after their acquisition of horses and other *Araucanian* elements (Cooper, 1925, p. 408). In modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* silversmithing, crucibles of stone, with bellows, were used to melt the silver coins. The molten metal was poured into clay or sand molds (Edwards, 1929, p. 63), and after cooling, was worked with file and hammer over an anvil. The various products were used chiefly as female adornment and saddle-gear ornamentation. (For details on silversmithing techniques and products, cf.: Claude Joseph, 1928 b; Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:274–83.)

372 **Fire making and illumination.**—Fire was made with a drill, before the introduction of flint-and-steel and matches. The hearth (domo, "woman"), with a small perforation in the center, was held on the ground with the feet; the drill (wentru, "man"), twirled with the hands. The only record, to the present writer's knowledge, of producing fire by striking two stones together is that by Oña (canto 4, 1917, p. 144), from Talcaguano region, near the *Mapuche-Picunche* borderline, and the account given by this none-too-reliable writer may not refer to an aboriginal fire-making method proper. Fire,

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smoulder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 59). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (küde).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwe), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 235, fig. 23). Sacks (refüŋ) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for futher details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 189), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 328, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Incestuous sex relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking sprees. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter ñuke (mother) while she called him poñeñ ("son," w. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, *in* Moesbach, 1936, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Collió Huaiquillof is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Sororal polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 40). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized capture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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[p. 188 (H)]

Making mote (continued): 1, Testing kernels. 2, Cooling cooked kernels. 3, Pouring cooled kernels into a basket.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

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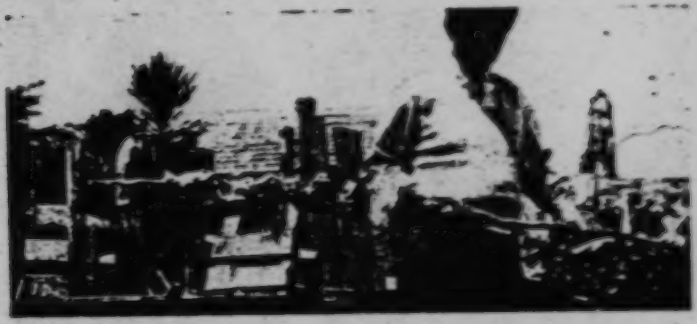

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Preparing meat and drinking maté: 1, Lamb or mutton ready to be roasted (Alepúe). 2, Roasting lamb or mutton over an open fireplace (Chau Chau in Alepúe area). 3, Drinking a beverage made of yerba maté (Chau Chau in Alepúe area).

[p. 188 (J)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 354 and the middle of the ruka to prevent heating the back section of the ruka where potatoes and wheat are usually stored. No family in the areas studied had a factory-made stove, nor even an improvised one.

313 372 Firewood may be either split wood of desired lengths—piles of it were seen near a few ruka—or dried tree stumps, or a log several yards long. One end of the log is placed in the fire and shoved along as it burns down. Tree stumps are preferred for in-between-cooking fires because they burn slowly and long. All wood is laid at the edge of the fire, never on top of it.

[824] Ulmo, because it is a hard, nearly smokeless wood, is preferred as firewood. Other woods used are roble chileno, coihüe, and olivillo. The last is the least desirable as it creates so much smoke. In Boroa area, a nearly treeless region, large quantities of driftwood are collected in spring after the floods of rivers fed by mountain streams have subsided. Should a Boroa area family run short of firewood before the driftwood is available, it will fell trees found on the banks of streams in the area; this wood, however, is usually not the smokeless kind.

372 According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 718) a hand drill was used in the early days to start a fire: the hearth was held on the ground by the feet while the drill was twirled with the hands. Flint and steel, and then matches, followed the hand drill. A 70-year-old Panguipulli man had never seen a fire started except with matches, which are being used in all areas today.

252 415 Kettles used in cooking are hung over the fireplace, either from a raft suspended from the rafters, 5 to 6 feet above the fire, or from a horizontal pole supported at each end by poles planted in the floor on opposite sides of the fireplace. The position of the horizontal pole is in line with the length of the ruka. In several small ruka the pole had been fastened to scantlings that supported the roof. The raft, usually square, is made of boards or saplings. Crossbars of boards or sapling are tied to the frame with voqui.

Kettles are suspended from the end of a chain or a stout wire. If a wire is used, its ends are bent to form hooks, the upper one being placed over the pole or raft and the kettle hung on the lower one. If a chain is used, the lower part of a stout S-shaped wire is placed into the upper link of the chain and the upper part over the pole or raft. A second S-shaped wire is used to suspend the kettle from any link along the chain, depending on how near to the fire the kettle is to be. A chain with S-shsped wires is preferred because of the adjustability to various heights.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 372 The most desirable firewoods are ñire and chacay because they give much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *a*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

372 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for then I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with sand to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

used to tamp down the fields following the harrowing, but this is now somewhat rare.

Three plowings, widely spaced, followed by seeding and harrowing (and rolling) is the stated ideal to which various accommodations are made. This holds for the coastal, the central, and the Andean zones. The exigencies of weather, along with poor drainage, generally prevent the ideal pattern from being realized.

If a three-field system is adhered to, the initial preparation of *barbecho* may take place in the spring (October-November), when the soil is not too wet, and the second plowing is done in the immediate postharvest season (March), at which time sowing may take place. It is during March, especially, that land is also cleared of stubble and brush by burning. Fires may be seen over the countryside day and night. Sometimes these get out of control, causing damage to buildings and recently harvested crops. Indeed, stacks of chaff (*muelles de paja*) are often set afire purposely, rather than saved, since wheat chaff is considered inferior fodder.

For the most part, preplanting preparations are nearly completed by the middle of April, but because of early rains some planting has to be postponed until there is a temporary break in the weather. According to traditional belief, such a time comes late in June (around St. John's Day), and those farmers who failed to sow before the heavy rains came count heavily on this expectation. To a certain extent, the planting of spring wheat would forestall such a risk, but the practice is generally unknown to the Mapuche.

Wheat is the principal crop on most reservations and is sown in March, April, and May, depending on weather and soil conditions, and harvested in January and February. Oats are grown in a ratio of 1:6 to wheat. They are primarily a cash crop, not being valued as food by the Mapuche, and represent risk capital in a limited sense. If too much rain spoils the oat crop, reducing its commercial value, the harvest is used for winter fodder rather than sold. Oats and wheat, which contain large amounts of wild seeds, such as *arvejilla*, *yuyo*, *rébano*, and chicory, also have little commercial value and are withheld from market.

Some quinoa is grown in small amounts for the home manufacture of *mudai* (a beverage), and oca is raised, at least in the Andean foothills, where it serves as a substitute for potatoes. Melons, squash, and cucumbers, while grown locally, do not figure importantly in the in-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

825 787 *witiftu* are birds of good omen, especially when they appear and sing near the house. They have no specific powers, but their presence is a good sign.

776 ***Arumko*** **and** ***shompalwe*** **are considered human forms with** animal attributes. The former is frog-like or reveals itself as a swamp creature on one occasion, then as an *anchimallen* (a small ghost-like figure) on another. There is a certain logic to this apparent contradiction which, however, belongs to a discussion of mythology per se and will not be discussed in this book. The ***shompalwe*** is most often described as a young maiden (although sometimes as a handsome young man) who lives in streams and lakes and lures young men into her watery domain. She is thought of as the mistress or owner of fishes.

821 787 *Natural Phenomena.* *Cherufe* comprise such natural phenomena as fireballs, comets, shooting stars and other aereolites, whirlwinds, stone axes (supposedly descended from the sky), and innumerable animate and inanimate natural objects. The Mapuche believe everything in nature has a spirit of its own. Generally at the behest of sorcerers these objects are sent to inflict illness or death, but they are also conceived of as capable of operating independently of *kalku* and causing hardship randomly. Some of them are equated with the Chilean *duende*, and there is a tendency to generalize *duende* to cover all *wekufe* as well. Fire emanating from *cherufe* portends death when [372] [763] passing near a house; at a distance it signifies trouble elsewhere.

775 *Ghosts.* While the Mapuche do not have a generic word to designate "ghost," they describe certain beings with the attributes associated with ghosts, as the word is used in English. Ghosts are evil, by Mapuche definition, and not confused with benevolent departed human spirits, although they are recruited from the ranks of ancestral spirits. There would seem to be an overlap between animistic and pneumatic spirits in the connection and some contradiction in what Mapuche believe about ancestral spirits. The contradiction or overlap lends itself to an interesting explanation. Ghosts are no longer, properly speaking, ancestors, but the contaminated essence of persons who died [858] and were captured by sorcerers. This is especially so of children [553] who died before the naming ceremony (*lakutun*) and received no formal status in Mapuche society. Females do not undergo a